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SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY MICHAEL
T. KAUFMAN, MARCH 23

HEREWITH TEXT OF NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE: BEGIN TEXT.

RHODESIA GUERRILLAS SEEK IMAGE OF UNITY

UNDER PRESSURE OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA
THAT COULD WIN RECOGNITION FROM THE OUTSIDE, THE LONG-
DIVIDED AND MUTUALLY SUSPICIOUS WINGS OF THE GUERRILLA
MOVEMENT RESISTING SUCH A SETTLEMENT ARE SEEKING TO FORGE
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THE APPEARANCE OF GROWING UNITY.

THE TWO CAMPS, NOMINALLY UNITED WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC
FRONT, ARE UNDER PRESSURE FROM CERTAIN NEIGHBORING
AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO PUT ASIDE THEIR BITTER ENMITY AND
MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THEMSELVES SO THAT THEY MAY BE ABLE
TO WAGE WAR MORE EFFECTIVELY AGAINST PRIME MINISTER IAN

D. SMITH AND THE INTERNALLY BASED BLACK LEADERS WHO HAVE JOINED IN HIS GOVERNMENT.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO GUERRILLA GROUPS ARE OSTENSIBLY CONFERRING ON A SET OF PROPOSALS CALLING FOR INCREASED

COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION OF THEIR WAR EFFORT. SO FAR THE COOPERATION APPEARS TO BE LIMITED TO JOINT PROFESSIONS AT INTERNATIONAL FORUMS INTENDED TO DENY LEGITIMACY OR INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY TO THE ACTION TAKEN BY MR. SMITH'S REGIME IN SALISBURY, THE RHODESIAN CAPITAL.

DESPITE LONGSTANDING APPEALS BY SUCH COUNTRIES AS TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE FOR THE FORMATION OF A JOINT MILITARY COMMAND AND INTEGRATED POLITICAL STRUCTURES, THERE IS NO REAL EVIDENCE THAT THE TWO ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS - ZIMBABWE IS THE AFRICAN NAME FOR RHODESIA - ARE DRAWING ANY CLOSER.

BOTH MOVEMENTS CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THEIR SEPARATE AND DISTINCT POLITICAL AND MILITARY UNITS. THE TWO OPERATE FROM DIFFERENT, FAR-REMOVED BASES AND RECEIVE ARMS AND TRAINING FROM DIFFERENT BACKERS. MOREOVER, EACH GROUP CONTAINS MANY PARTISANS WHO CANNOT FORGET THE HISTORY OF THE SCHISMS, BETRAYALS AND MURDERS CHARACTERIZING THE UNCLASSIFIED

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ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

EVEN NOW, WHEN AN APPEARANCE OF SOLIDARITY IS DEEMED ESSENTIAL IN THE FACE OF WHAT ARE REFERRED TO AS MR. SMITH'S MANEUVERS, ONE OF THE TWO WINGS IS RELIABLY REPORTED TO BE HOLDING A TRIAL FOR TWO OFFICIALS ACCUSED OF PLOTTING. ACCORDING TO RELIABLE SOURCES HERE AND IN ZAMBIA, THE TWO, BOTH MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION, WHICH IS BASED HERE IN MOZAMBIQUE, ARE FACING CHARGES THAT THEY HAD UNAUTHORIZED CONTACTS WITH THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION, WHICH HAS ITS HEADQUARTERS IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA. THE TWO MEN ARE IDENTIFIED AS CHARLES ZAMAZARIPI AND RUGANO GUMBO.(SIC)

MANY PURGES AND SCHISMS

AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION, KNOWN AS ZANU, CONTINUES TO OPERATE FROM BASES IN MOZAMBIQUE AND TANZANIA. ITS FORCES ARE TRAINED AND EQUIPPED BY THE CHINESE. IT IS THESE MEN WHO HAVE LARGELY BORNE THE BRUNT OF THE GUERRILLA WAR, INCREASING THEIR INFILTRATION INTO RHODESIA OVER THE LAST FOUR

YEARS.

THE NATIONAL UNION, WHICH HAS EXPERIENCED MANY PURGES AND SCHISMS, IS HEADED BY ROBERT MUGABE, ALTHOUGH INDIVIDUAL MILITARY LEADERS COMMAND SIGNIFICANT PERSONAL ALLEGIANCE AMONG THE TROOPS.

THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION, OR ZAPU, IS BASED LARGELY IN ZAMBIA ALTHOUGH IT HAS A NUMBER OF NEWER BASES IN ANGOLA. IT IS SUPPLIED AND TRAINED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES. THOUGH ACCORDING TO WESTERN AND RHODESIAN INTELLIGENCE THE PEOPLE'S UNION IS MUCH THE BETTER LED AND EQUIPPED OF THE TWO, RELATIVELY FEW OF ITS GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN SENT INTO RHODESIA BY THE UNCLASSIFIED

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GROUP'S LEADER, JOSHUA NKOMO, THE PATRIARCHIAL FIGURE OF ZIMBABWE NATIONALISM.

UNTIL RECENTLY, IT WAS ASSUMED BY MEMBERS OF MR. MUGABE'S ORGANIZATION THAT MR. NKOMO WAS REINING IN HIS FORCES AND ALLOWING THE NATIONAL UNION TO SUFFER LOSSES IN ANTICIPATION OF A TIME WHEN HIS ARMY COULD MOVE TO DEFEAT NOT ONLY MR. SMITH BUT THE NATIONAL UNION AS WELL. NOW, AT LEAST AT THE UPPER LEVELS OF THE ZANU POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, SUCH SUSPICIONS SEEM TO HAVE ABATED.

"NOW NKOMO WILL HAVE TO FIGHT," SAID ONE CONFIDANT OF MR. MUGABE. "HE MAY NOT WANT TO, BUT HE HAS NO CHOICE. IF HE DOES NOT FIGHT NOW HE WILL LOSE COMMAND OF HIS ARMY AND HE WILL LOSE THE RESPECT AND BACKING OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES." THESE ARE THE FIVE BLACK-GOVERNED NATIONS THAT BORDER ON RHODESIA.

NKOMO-SMITH TALKS RECALLED

THE ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL UNION MAN STOPPED FAR SHORT OF A RINGING ENDORSEMENT OF HIS PEOPLE'S UNION ALLIES. AS MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP OFTEN DO, HE RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHAT MR. NKOMO MAY HAVE HAD IN MIND WHEN HE ENGAGED IN ABORTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. SMITH THREE YEARS AGO. AT THAT TIME, THEY SAY, MR. NKOMO NEVER RAISED THE ISSUE OF AMNESTY FOR OTHER NATIONALISTS WHO REMAINED EXILED OUTLAWS WHILE HE ACCORDING TO HIS CRITICS, ATTEMPTED TO BUILD A POWER BASE INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

THE NATIONAL UNION PEOPLE HERE ARE ALSO OPENLY SUSPICIOUS OF THE LONGSTANDING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MR. NKOMO AND UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESIDENT KENNETH D. KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA. IN TERMS THAT COME CLOSE TO CHARGES OF A SELLOUT, THEY HAVE QUESTIONED WHAT TOOK PLACE AT A SECRET MEETING IN LUSAKA LAST FALL BETWEEN MR. KAUNDA AND PRIME MINISTER SMITH. SOME OF MR. MUGABE'S SUPPORTERS SAY THAT MR. NKOMO KNEW OF THE MEETING AND THAT ITS AIM WAS TO LURE MR. NKOMO BACK TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PLAN.

THE TONE OF SKEPTICISM SHOWN HERE TOWARD MR. NKOMO AND HIS FOLLOWERS IS SIMILAR TO THAT SHOWN LAST WEEK IN ZAMBIA BY MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S UNION SPEAKING OF MR. MUGABE AND HIS GROUP. THEY CONTENDED THAT THE MOZAMBIQUE-BASED ORGANIZATION LACKED DISCIPLINE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WAS IN BOTH CAMPS A DISCERNIBLE HOPE EXPRESSED AT THE UPPER ECHELONS THAT IN THE CURRENT SITUATION THE TWO GROUPS COULD AT LEAST STOP BEING ENEMIES.

THIS NEW SENSE OF COEXISTENCE WAS REFLECTED BY MR. MUGABE IN AN INTERVIEW TO BE PUBLISHED IN A MOZAMBIKAN JOURNAL CALLED TEMPO. IN IT HE SAYS HE IS PLEASED BY CONTACTS MADE TO SEEK MEANS OF WORKING TOGETHER. "EVEN IF WE CANNOT FORM TRUE UNITY, AT LEAST WE CAN AGREE ON COMMON STRATEGY, COMMON PROGRAMS AND COMMON PERSPECTIVES," HE SAID. "THE PROBLEM OF UNITY IS THAT WE CANNOT ALL OF A SUDDEN FORM UNITY BETWEEN PARTIES WHICH WERE SEPARATED AND, FRANKLY SPEAKING, FIGHTING EACH OTHER FOR 15 YEARS." END TEXT. VANCE

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